

# The Reply

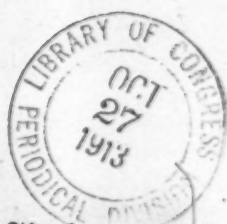
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# The Reply

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# The Reply

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An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

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May, 1913

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## EDITORIAL

THE REPLY has come into existence in response to a distinct demand. In Connecticut, as in all Eastern States, and by Eastern is meant States east of the Mississippi—Woman Suffrage has, until very lately, been looked upon by men with amusement and by women, with indifference. England is responsible for the changed attitude of both towards this question. Taken up as a fad by a set of women who are always looking for "some new thing," especially anything approved by English social leaders, the "Woman Suffrage fad" was grafted on the dormant activities of the American Suffragists.

These watchful ladies were quick to see the advantage to be gained by annexing the money and time of this class of women, and the partnership was formed! As the fad in England has developed into something far more serious, the American Suffragette has, so far, restrained herself, and the "Militancy fad" has not yet crossed the sea. Faint echoes are beginning to be audible in the speeches of the Rev. Anna Shaw and Mrs. Belmont, and more lately in Mrs. Brannan's threat in the New York Times as follows: "It is quite possible that if the Eastern States continue to deny enfranchisement to their

women while the Western States continue to grant it, the women thus discriminated against would find the political anomaly of their position so impossible to bear that even Militancy would seem to them justifiable." It is in response to such irresponsible statements that the demand arises for an expression by Anti-Suffragists of Connecticut, as well as the country, of their reasons for opposing this movement for Woman Suffrage. THE REPLY has undertaken this task and will welcome both opposition and co-operation in its efforts.

The impression seems general that Anti-Suffragists have done nothing in the past, and are doing nothing to show their opposition to what they feel to be a grave National danger—a most mistaken impression. The need for activity was not considered great before the formation of the following quartette—Fashion, Militancy, Socialism and Woman Suffrage. Had America, however, sooner awakened to this danger, especially in the alliance of the two last mentioned, much of our present work might have been spared. Thousands of women, whose many interests are being interrupted by this Suffrage "difference," would be working for the bet-

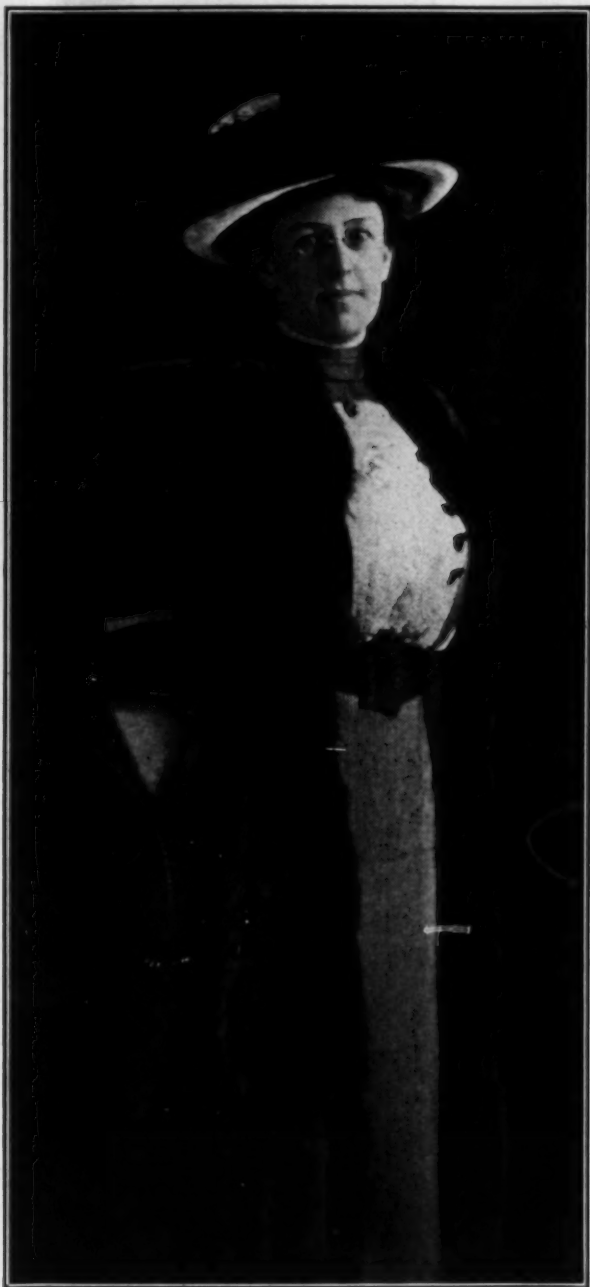
terment of the race, along their own lines, rather than endeavoring to do so according to methods borrowed from men. To-day, however, the woman-who-does-not-want-to-vote—and she is in the overwhelming majority—cannot fold her hands helplessly, and say “The vote for women is coming, I cannot help it.” Every woman who does NOT WANT TO VOTE has only to say so, loudly enough to be heard. The men of America have always been renowned for their willingness to give their women whatever they wish. The Women of America, Slaves! Have the Suffragists any sense of humor, when they can sound this note in their speeches and writings? The time is here for the Anti-Suffragists to show that they have both a deep sense of responsibility and an earnest purpose. Incredible as it seems there are still many women in the Suffrage ranks who say “Why it only takes a few minutes to put a ballot in a box once a year!” and there are Anti-Suffragists who, apparently accepting the same view of civic duty, say “Let them vote. We need not.” Does either woman’s understanding of the purpose of universal Suffrage augur well for the future of the State? Earnest women there are on both sides, however mistaken we believe our adversaries to be, but to-day Anti-Suffragists must come out into the limelight and give a reason “for the faith that is in them.” This Magazine published in Connecticut and the organ of that State Association, stands as an exponent of that “Faith.”

Much has been HEARD of the Suffragists, but after all but 8% of the

women of the country have agitated this subject. 92% are, therefore, either actively opposed or entirely indifferent to the whole matter. With such an overwhelming majority of women not asking and a goodly number actively opposing the proposed change, the “noisy minority” should surely soon learn that in this land, the Majority still rules. Quietly, if possible, in the limelight if necessary the American woman must uphold “Majority Rule.” Anti-Suffrage organizations are forming everywhere, books, papers and magazines on this live topic, are appearing. Intelligent co-operation of all these organs and associations will have the desired result and, let us hope, peace will come in our time, not Militancy!

The overwhelming victory of the opposition to Woman Suffrage in Michigan, when the subject was brought to the vote of the people, is strong evidence of the wisdom and fore-thought of the Connecticut House of Representatives, in saving this State both unnecessary expense and violent political agitation, by its adverse vote of 150 to 74 on the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

As the financial support of a magazine comes largely from its success as an advertising medium, we trust that all who want to help the work, which THE REPLY has undertaken, will not only read all its advertisements, but patronize its carefully selected advertisers.



GRACE DUFFIELD GOODWIN  
Authoress of "Anti-Suffrage—Ten Good Reasons"

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## Suffrage Defeated in Michigan

By ELIZABETH R. BURNELL

First Vice-President of the Connecticut Association Opposed to  
Woman Suffrage

**T**HAT the victory of the Anti-Suffragists in Michigan is a great one is doubly true. First, that the Suffragists, after strenuous campaigning from the time they lost in the autumn until the question again came before the people April 7th, lost again—and secondly, that they lost by such overwhelming numbers. In November, the majority against Woman Suffrage was 774, and the latest reports give that of the April referendum as 100,000.

It is said that the Suffragists put in twenty-two speakers to cover the State, while the Antis had but one up to two weeks before the election, and then but two amateurs helped as they could, but there were few Anti organizations outside of Detroit. The men of Detroit formed a committee to oppose Suffrage and worked diligently from the middle of March.

It is, of course, true that the Suffragists are bitterly disappointed at losing Michigan. It would have been the first State east of the Mississippi River, and psychologically would have meant much to the Suffrage movement.

The laws of Michigan are very progressive, and during this last election, the initiative and referendum and recall all went through. This makes the loss of the radical measure—Woman Suffrage—more striking. The Suffragists, both in and out of the State, promised victory up to the day of the election.

As usual, the liquor interests were accused of defeating Woman Suffrage. It is time that some of those interests feared its coming, and, doubtless used their influence against it (though absolutely, never through any Anti-Suffrage organization) but it is also affirmed that some of the liquor dealers were for Suffrage.

However that may be, if liquor interests oppose it, it merely shows that they are taking the campaign statements of the Suffrage party, and are not looking at facts, as seen where Woman Suffrage has had a trial. Kansas was a Prohibition State BEFORE IT ADOPTED Woman Suffrage last autumn, and is the ONLY Suffrage State that is Prohibition, though Wyoming has had forty-four years and Colorado twenty years in which to effect the measure. What is more, none of the States where woman is enfranchised (except Kansas, as above) has as good general temperance measures as have a number of non-Suffrage States. The coming of Woman-Suffrage DOES NOT further the cause of temperance, whatever it should do.

The causes of the great reversal of feeling among the electors of Michigan are several. First, without any doubt, was the knowledge of the reasons against it. No voice had been raised in Michigan to oppose it, and the men probably thought the women all wanted it, and yielded, without thought to their wishes



Many acknowledged that they didn't vote against it last November because they didn't think it would carry anyway. The men of Michigan were greatly impressed with the strength of the arguments against Suffrage. Among the other reasons for the great increase of the majority against it are the following, clipped from an editorial of a Grand Rapids paper of Suffrage sympathies.

"While no one would fear that Michigan women would become rioters and arsonists and vengeful public nuisances in imitation of their misguided, law-breaking sisters across the ocean, yet the continual spectacle of British Sabotage has unquestionably been the deciding factor in turning away men who were 'on the fence' to the negative side. We do not think the men of Michigan looked with favor on the strenuous 'forced marches' which American Suffragettes have staged, in advertisement of their faith. There has been some-

thing about those 'forced marches' which has been inconsistent with womanhood's ideals, and wherever Suffrage seems to clash with these ideals it will lose strength and friends and advocates. The disorder attending the Washington Inaugural parade of the Suffragists had a similar psychological effect—just a 'straw' perhaps, and yet straws show the direction in which the wind blows! Another cause advanced for the defeat was that the men concluded that the women didn't want the franchise. They also expressed the belief that a public proclamation by certain women of Grand Rapids to that effect had a great influence. Altogether, the subject seems closed for the present in Michigan and further demonstrates the fact, that when the opposition is not made known, the men misread the silence, and also that the 'Anti' arguments can win out over the Suffrage arguments when they get a hearing."

## Emotion in Politics

By Mrs. WILLIAM FORCE SCOTT \*

SOME time ago Miss Jane Addams said that in a political campaign the appeal should be made to the emotions, not to the intellect. As the Suffrage campaign progresses we have reason to congratulate the agitators on their close adherence to this policy. We hear day by day the emotion stirring appeal for a minimum wage as the sure cure for the traffic in girls—only to be accomplished, of course, by the woman vote. We hear loud and shrill the call to women to come out into industry, to seek freedom from the galling servitude to man in

the home, and "to go down in the pit to fight" or to work shoulder to shoulder with him. When it comes to paying money to maintain a government which refuses us a vote—"who's here so base!" A woman who is half a man would face judge and jury first! Then the clean milk and the pure water! Does anyone imagine that a mere man born of woman does not love to see little babies dying by cartloads from the polluted milk which men by legislation provide for them? What but the woman's vote can save the babies? Evidently not her intelligence. There is

no end to the waves of emotion to be stirred by one campaign cry or another.

The opposition teaches a different doctrine. In so serious a matter as a change in the suffrage of a great democracy, it urges that emotion should be rigidly eliminated. That the best reason and judgment at our command should be brought to bear, and that in presenting the grounds upon which the objections to Woman Suffrage are based, we should try to explain clearly, not the desire, nor even the right of a class or an individual, but the relation of that desire or right to the whole system, social and political.

When, therefore, the propagandist for Suffrage says, "We must vote to purify politics," we ask, "How will you do it? By what means? Where HAVE you done it? Show us in any state or country where women vote that politics are better or that women have made them so." That little word "How" always brings a scream. It is never answered. And when we ask "WHAT will you do with the vote when you get it," we are answered, "That is our concern not yours. The right to the ballot is ours, and ours the right to use it as we see fit."

When again we ask, "Where has Woman Suffrage done all that you promise or a small part of it?" the answer comes triumphantly, "In Wyoming!" In Wyoming there is an empty prison. In Wyoming "there are women with the faces of angels who go hand in hand to the polls with men." In Wyoming all is as it should be and in Wyoming women vote. WHY has Wyoming a population of only 145,765? WHY does not the civilized world flock thither? They

apologize for Colorado because she has not voted long enough. But after eighteen years Judge Lindsay wrote "The Beast." Does not a vote operate in less than eighteen years? Last November a State official was re-elected to office in Colorado who was opposed by press and pulpit on the ground of gross immorality. The men cried out against him, and said, "Woman Suffrage is on trial, if the man who has dishonored womanhood is re-elected, Woman Suffrage is forever condemned." He was re-elected by a large majority, and a woman representative spoke as his advocate to a meeting of women, saying, "What we want in this office is business, not morals." A woman ran on the ticket with him, fighting shoulder to shoulder with him through the campaign.

The social evil is at its worst in Denver, Salt Lake City and San Francisco, (the latter, however, should not be included since there women are only lately enfranchised.) The conditions under which women and children live and work are no better, in some respects worse, in Suffrage than in Non-Suffrage states. Girls often, for instance, are allowed in street trades in Colorado, while in Wisconsin neither boy nor girl is allowed in any gainful occupation under fourteen. The property protection for women decreases as the economic status of the politically enfranchised woman changes.

As to the demand for political power to stop sweat shops and white slave traffic, to purify politics and generally uplift the world, there is just one plain prosaic answer which cannot be repeated too often. *When women stop*

*buying cheap garments the sweat shops will stop work.* When mothers take care of their young daughters, giving them work enough at home to keep them from the vicious amusements of the idle, white slavery will be virtually cured. When women are with their growing boys and when homes are co-operative in that all members of the family are busy in the making and maintaining of the home, we will have men of such moral endowment as will make our politics cleaner because the men are cleaner. All of the legislation women think themselves responsible for is of a class which can be compelled and enforced only under pressure of public opinion. Votes never made cows give rich milk, nor men sell clean milk; but the report of the man in the laboratory published through the daily papers, creating a public knowledge of the methods by which clean milk is to be produced and sold, and of the sickness and death due to polluted milk—THAT COMPELS, for it reaches the pocket as well as the understanding.

The women who are patiently teaching the ignorant mothers how to feed their babies, are more effective in reducing the rate of infant mortality than a million voting and campaigning women.

If the women would give up the boarding house and hotel habit, if the women of the laboring classes would be willing to live in the country where their children could get a fair education in the diversified labors of the home, if women would teach their children the real joy of work well done, so that they would find more pleasure in the labor of their own hands than in the vicarious accomplishments in which they indulge at the "movies" and by seeing other people work and play, the education of the children would ensure the good citizenship of the succeeding generation. Here is the homely answer to all of the demands on the part of women to make the world right by a vote, when it can only be right by making it right in the growing—the law should be saved for lawless exceptions.

## The Suffragist's "Mothers Helper"

By OLIVE M. REAMY

THE Suffragists say, "Mothers need every help in making their children's environment good. They should vote equally with men."

That makes one wonder what sort of parents the Suffragists are. In the Anti-Suffrage families the parents are not at odds on questions concerning the welfare of their children. Indeed the fathers are, as a rule, quite as solicitous for the mental, moral and physical well-being of their offspring as are the

mothers. The difference in their positions respecting their children is the difference in the work done for them. In the average family the mother feeds, clothes, and guides, while the father pays for the food and clothing and gives assistance in the proper guidance.

When the family is represented at the polls by the father it would seem to a reasoning mind that the family interests were given sufficient expression by vote. To be sure the fathers of some families



will vote for Mr. White and the fathers of other families will vote for Mr. Black, but, if women had the franchise, and if fathers and mothers agreed, the mothers' votes would merely double the number cast without in any way altering the result.

The only sane ground on which women can demand the ballot is that their vote will change conditions and legislation for the better. That means that there must be a good way of voting and a bad way, of which women must choose the good and men the bad. No

other conclusion can be drawn, for, if men choose the good way, women have no need to vote, and, if women choose the bad way, they cannot bring about reforms.

Narrowed down it means that mothers must vote one way and fathers the other, thus practically cancelling the vote of each family and leaving the power entirely in the hands of the unmarried. Logically the situation is a little difficult to fit into the Suffrage arguments.

## The World's Need of Women

By HELEN KENDRICK JOHNSON

A MOST fascinating book is that written by the late Otis Tufton Mason, and entitled, "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture." He traces the progress of civilization from its beginnings to its present high attainment, and in every instance he finds those beginnings to have arisen as a labor of love from the heart and through the hands of women who did for man, for the tribe, for the country, what none of these could do for themselves. In closing his volume, Mr. Mason says: "If all mankind to come should be better born and nurtured, better instructed in morals and conduct at the start, better clothed and fed and housed all their lives, be better married and encompassed and refined, the old ratios of progress would be decupled. All this beneficent labor is the birthright of woman, and much of it of women alone. Past glory therein is secure, and it only remains to be seen how far the future

will add to its lustre in the preservation of holy ideals."

Mr. Mason has in this simple fashion pointed out the deepest truths the mind can bring before itself. Without a holy ideal there will never be any true and lasting progress. That is the reason that we are bidden to love God supremely, and our neighbors as ourselves. The thought comes at once, What was the first Scripture ideal of woman's life and work? The statement of it has been strangely overlooked or misread, but it is as simple, as clear and as sweet as the ripple of a forest stream over its bed. It is this: "When the woman saw that the tree was good for food and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat." Woman's life and work, then, was to be that of the world's nourisher, its food bringer, the world's beautifier,



the world's teacher of righteousness. What a marvellous and glorious picture! How strangely it has been belittled! Man had gone as far as he was able—had shown power, intellect, organization. In response to his God-implanted dream of a being that could pass where he could not—into the realm of the unseen—into the moral and spiritual world, had come woman. Joyfully he recognized the embodiment of the ideal he had been powerless to fulfill, and he did eat what she proffered. The blended human life began, and its Creator blessed it. This ideal was set for all time. When man was taught by woman to pray in faith he was to pray as a man prays, not as a woman prays; when woman learned to use power and intellect and organization she applied it as a woman should, not as a man would.

#### THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE IDEAL

The ideal set forth in the "History of Woman Suffrage" is the opposite of all this. It must be always borne in mind that a movement is a far greater thing than any of the individuals who may think that they are an essential part of it. We are all familiar with remarks something like this: "I am a Suffragist, I believe that woman is a citizen, and voting is a citizen's right; that woman pays taxes and should have a voice in the government. Of course, I do not believe in doing as the millitants are doing; I do not believe in the breaking up of home and marriage, in the economic independence of women, in the state motherhood doctrine, in the teaching that the State should support women and children, and that the common

home and table should take the place of the individual home with the father as its head, the mother as its maker. The man as its support and defence, its outward head, the woman as its maker and comforter both equal, mutually dependent, mutually honoring each.

I should say "If you do not believe all this then you are not a suffragist; for the suffrage movement does believe it. The women responsible for the beginnings of the suffrage movement believed every one of the things set forth above, and their followers who are really suffragists believe them and are proclaiming some of them every day. The name that they have given to such women as you, who believe in the home of married love "till death doth part it," is "parasite," the meanest name that was ever devised by hatred of the laws of God and man. Thank Providence, that we live under such "man-made laws as this, and not under such woman-made laws as Suffrage advocates would be likely to frame. The social confusion that marks this time, and leads men to look with dismay and terror to the future, is the result of these destructive doctrines. Think for a moment how sad and threatening it is that women should pour contempt on the life and work that their sex has been leading and building up for centuries and should be teaching children that man had compelled them to lead this life! That man's life was nobler and better than theirs, and that they must desert their own natural place and seek that of man in order to show independence and to possess liberty. It is as true to-day as it was of the primitive times of which Mr. Mason wrote that woman is the planter of

ideals, and if she ceases her labor of love from the heart, through her hands, civilization will die as rapidly as it has risen slowly. It takes but a day to tear down work that has been centuries in building, and the tearing down process is going on with fearful rapidity under our very eyes. The tree of which the woman ate was one of evil as well as of good, and this evil began with an insidious attack on the home by the women who had imbibed the ideas engendered by the communistic body of thinkers who were taught by mothers of Amazons and communists, in the early Republics; which outcropped in the acts of the furies of the French Revolution who were the first openly to demand votes for women; on through the communistic teaching of Margaret Fuller and the women and men of the radical movements that preceded our Civil War, when it was asserted that "as civil governments were founded on force to secure obedience these men could not, and would not, vote.

Having gone thus far they, very logically, went further. They held that as family government was also maintained by force, that, too, must be abolished. Each individual was to be a law unto himself or herself. A state of lawlessness sprang up out of which grew communes that defied divine and human government. Women being the seed-implanters and the true moulders of society, we can well understand how sixty years of this teaching has produced in the present generation a lawlessness that is really terrifying.

The suffrage for women has been fastened upon the States where it exists by this dangerous and defiant spirit. The insidious doctrines of Socialism have been persistently taught to our country and, especially, to our farming communities. Socialist newspapers have been distributed broadcast among the Granges. Socialists well know that the family and home life of the American farmer forms the bulwark of that industry, integrity, intelligence and faithfulness on which this sorely tried Republic must rely if it is to weather the storm of radical attack now beating upon it. We have surmounted a notable Revolution that won us liberty, a war (that of 1812) that made that liberty secure, a tremendous civil war from which the land emerged to realize in a marvellously short time, a unity without a parallel in the history of civil conflict, but we stand now face to face with a foe that has sapped our moral life-blood. That foe cries "peace," "peace," in order the better to wreak its own purposes of destruction of the Republic that our fathers died to build and our brothers died to save. The question is: Will the men and women of our time arouse to a sense of danger and be able to exert the moral stamina and courage that will a third time save the State? This time the enemy has been nursed at our own firesides. Our schools, our colleges, and even our churches have become too often the hotbeds of a treason that stabs fatally and in the name of liberty.

## "Monkeying With the Buzz-Saw"

### A Quarrel With the Laws of Creation

By KATE C. TOWLE

THERE is a slang saying that "whoever monkeys with a buzz-saw is apt to get hurt." The Laws of Nature are very dangerous buzz-saws. But no one would object to the Equal-Suffragist monkeying with them to her heart's content if she did not insist in involving those who do not desire the sport.

If one woman wishes to become a doctor, dentist or attorney all women are not required to study medicine, teeth or law. But because one woman wishes to vote must all women assume political burdens? Is that justice?

Christianity teaches the strong to protect the weak. The small boy is allowed under no provocation to strike his sister. She is his to protect. The present independent position of woman is due to this training of youth, that all women are under the protection of all men. This is universally so and a woman in difficulty asks or accepts assistance from a stranger, and the stranger renders the assistance, why? Because at some time some of the women of his own family may also be obliged to ask or accept similar assistance. The general protection of women by men is so established a custom that only its infringements are commented upon.

Without this protection the Equal-Suffragist could not roam the streets and, mounting a soap-box, address a street corner audience. She is the result of an excess of protection—a by-

product of man's chivalry towards woman. Her quarrel is not with man's, but with her Creator's law, that, at birth, she was not given the choice of sex! Shall we see the future division of mankind with men, women and Suffragettes. The last may be either male or female.

It takes a woman to make a home. And home-making is no fool's job. As nobody can occupy two positions in space at one and the same time, no woman can attend to the duties of a house-hold—duties which call for constant service—and at the same time be at large working politically for the public good. It is said if the corners of a room are kept clean that the center will need little attention. From homes that are homes, the probation officers and juvenile courts receive few delinquents. The municipal house-keeping but reflects the general condition of the average home. The success or failure of a nation follows the success or failure of its firesides.

The woman unfit for the duties of making a home is only the equal of the man who is unfit to maintain a home. A few women must of necessity support themselves and others. Their position is unnatural and hard and laws for its betterment should be enforced. The women who work for pin-money make life desperately hard for the women who work for a livelihood. The average life of a woman in the business world is four years, consequently her



competence and advancement are of little importance and her wages are in proportion to her services. To the statement that millions of women are engaged in gainful occupations the Equal-Suffragist fails to add that these same millions form an ever-changing body. On the other hand a man weds his job for life. His ability to advance makes the value of his future. The unnecessary women-workers keep wages down to the point of starvation for the women who work to live. CAUSE ONE of the social evil. They also lower the wages of men, especially of young men, so that they cannot afford to maintain homes. CAUSE TWO of the social evil. The natural division of labor between the sexes makes it imperative that men should receive sufficient wages to sustain families. And the woman who must assume a man's burden should receive a man's wage.

Natural law allows no undervaluation. Back, out of immediate sight, it demands its pound of flesh. On one side the girl who works for a livelihood—on the other, the girl who wishes to enjoy a few years of "near" economic freedom. The result is an over supply of girl workers and a consequent lowering of wages. Who pays for this difference in wages produced by the oversupply? The 'pin-money' girl? No—The girl who works for a living? Yes. With what does she pay? With the starvation of a body and the degradation of a soul.

Women are "monkeying" with the "buzz-saw" and they are getting hurt.

The woman who believes that her first duty is to her home, has no time for politics. She knows that her best

work is accomplished at home. That a nation succeeds or fails according to the happiness and content of its firesides and that both of these are in her keeping. They are her offering to her country's development and prosperity. Then:

Back to your homes, all ye women,  
Back to the place God has made  
Your's in his scheme of creation  
The hearth's where your fires have  
been laid.

Fires that shall warm and shall feed  
them,

The youth of the nation to be,  
And light in the hearts of the children  
A love for this land of the free.

For child love will out last a life time.  
Ideals well kindled endure;  
And patriots bred at the hearth-stone  
The health of the nation ensure.

Then back to your homes all ye women,  
Keep your fires burning and bright,  
Guard them, the hearths of the nation,  
And tend them by day and by night.

#### Woman Suffrage—Why?

THE CALL of April 2, 1913 has the following quotation from the Metropolitan of April:

"All Socialists rejoice in the progress of Woman Suffrage. We do not expect Woman Suffrage to bring the Millennium. We do not believe that, on the whole, women will vote more intelligently or more honestly or nobly than men. But we expect a very definite gain, though not an instant one, from the wiping out of the sex qualification."

WE EXPECT A VERY DEFINITE GAIN!



## The Guidon Club

### Opposed to Woman Suffrage

THE Guidon Club has a somewhat unique history and mission. It is, and has always been an independent organization. Its founding marked the hour when the Suffrage movement began openly to merge with the Socialist movement from which it really originally sprang.

When, in the autumn of 1907 at the Albany hearing, from the Suffrage ranks came the cries at intervals, "Socialism is religion," "Socialism is the Bible" it seemed that the time had come to recognize and organize against this most dangerous social foe. Twenty-five women met and founded the society. Its first purpose was to study the *raison d'être* of this crisis in the Suffrage movement. This was done through a series of lectures. The members chose the name—The Guidon—from the little ensign that is never absent from the forefront of a marching column of the land's defenders, and whose business it is to point out a straight line.

When in 1912 the political parties put into their platforms recommendations to the legislatures of the States to submit the question of Woman Suffrage to the popular vote, and, in pursuance thereof, the New York State Legislature passed a resolution favoring such action, the Guidon Club enlarged its membership, admitting men to it, and prepared for a campaign which should address itself especially to the voters. So successful has it been that there is a constant demand for literature from many States beside our own, our numbers

are growing steadily and our speakers are in demand. Mrs. Forse Scott, the first vice-president, it is but due her to say, is called upon every day for addresses, before important organizations. We are made to feel that we have struck the key-note of that sentiment among our best men which looks forward with dread, and which seeks for the expression among women of a whole-hearted, determined and comprehending resistance to the mania that is sweeping like a contagion through the land.

We welcome with intense satisfaction the establishment of this new medium of earnest expression. It has come in response to a need, and its field will be in some respects unique. To the great body of self-respecting self-supporting women who love their homes and spend life to make them what they should be, this magazine will particularly appeal. To the members of the Granges—the men and women of New England farms, the journal will go with a message and inspiration. May it live long and prosper.

HELEN K. JOHNSON.

President of the Guidon Club.

"I hold it true,

Whate'er the cost—

It has not cost me much as yet—

'Tis better to have loved and lost,  
Than loved and won a Suffragette."

(From "LIFE.")

## Mrs. Goodwin's Letter

### In the New York Herald's Woman Suffrage Contest

THE following letter by Mrs. Grace Duffield Goodwin, won the prize offered by the Herald for the best letter against Woman Suffrage.

#### INDIVIDUAL STATES SHOULD DECIDE

The federal constitution very wisely leaves all electoral matters to the individual States, and the question of universal adult suffrage must be settled by each on the basis of its individual problems. Sparsely settled agricultural States find small difficulty in an increased electorate, even with added expense. States sheltering Mormonism find reason for desiring voters. Others, homogeneous in character, fare no worse than before. These facts do not constitute a safe basis for nation wide equal suffrage. In the South the illiterate male negro vote is a temptation to corruption. Should these States assume the double burden, not offset by the increased intelligent vote? Alabama, Florida, Missouri, Virginia, Arkansas and Texas, with many negroes, have no educational qualifications.

There are six and one-half millions of alien males of voting age in the entire country and 45.6 per cent are naturalized. Five years' residence is required before naturalization—a law often evaded. Of these aliens, coming latterly largely from Southern Europe, few have any conception of American governmental ideals; many are radical Social-

ists. Eighty-three per cent live in New England and the Middle West. The far West has, therefore, no negro and no alien problem, while New England, the Middle and the Southern States face grave dangers. Moreover, only nine per cent of the women of this country are seeking suffrage.

The school franchise, already granted to women in thirty-six States, is used by only two per cent of the women. Tax paying suffrage is granted to women in towns and villages of New York and is not always used. Women do not use the power they already possess. Will they do better with more?

This is also a city problem. Twenty-two millions of our people live in cities, where electoral corruption presses hardest, largely because ignorance is exploited. In New York city 138,000 illiterate women, added to 92,000 illiterate men, in a State without educational qualifications, would not materially advance the best interests of that State or city.

American affairs should be settled, not upon the basis of what can be done in some foreign country, but with full recognition of the special dangers and difficulties which face us here and now.

MRS. GRACE DUFFIELD GOODWIN,  
No. 1,605 Irving Street, N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.



## Ellen Key in "The Century of the Child"

"The emancipation of woman has practically ceased to be the freedom which enlarges soul and heart. It is conducted quite officially, like a business, and dogmatically, too, without feeling for the pulsating manifoldness of life, and has become an egotistic self concentrated campaign. On this account I, and many others of my generation, with many more of the younger generation, stand outside of the movement, although we actively wished and still wish, for the freedom of woman.

"The champions of Woman's Rights, like the champions of other movement for rights illustrate the truth of the old Swedish saying, that 'What we are pursuing is really only a runaway horse attached to our wagon.' How blindly the fanatics of Woman's Rights have rushed by the other needs of the time

can be best measured by considering their attitude towards the greatest question of the day—I mean the social question."

Referring to the progress of the Woman's Rights movement:

"It is a line pursued without consideration of feminine capacities, nature and environment."—(Page 66.)

Suffragists say in "The Women Voter," March 1913:

"One of the first results of the enfranchisement of Washington women was the recall of Mayor Gill of Seattle, charged by good citizens, with permitting and fostering a "wide open town."

THE TRUTH, Sufficient signatures of MEN had been secured before the women were enfranchised.

## In the Leading Periodicals

THE Ladies' Home Journal is making contributions of inestimable value to the opposition to Woman Suffrage. Nothing which it has yet done has equalled the articles by Edward S. Martin and Miss Ida M. Tarbell in the current numbers. The American woman owes this publication, a debt of gratitude for its able defence of the will of the majority. Mr. Martin says in the May number:

YOU CAN'T MAKE A MOTHER OUT  
OF A MAN.

"A man may make of himself a fair substitute for a wife for a working-woman, but it takes a rare talent still for him to

make a competent mother for her children. That calls for instincts he does not have. It is astonishing how lacking many of the Suffragist writers are in appreciation of what is done for a family by a competent mother. They might have been born from a penny-in-the-slot machine for all the conception they show of the job of mothering, and of the time, the thought, the strength, the leisure and the wit it takes to do it.

Some of the suffragist writers know better—Ellen Key, for one, who really has a serious-minded, grown-up woman's knowledge about the woman's end of human life, and comes out of her re-



markable divagations after free love and trial marriage, and Heaven knows what, into admirable discourse about the domestic side of life, and the enormous importance of giving married women a chance to keep their minds on it.

Altogether too many of the active Suffragists present as their credentials for the work of rearranging human life the glaring evidences of their failure to live it successfully as it is. Women who seem to have made a mess of all life's relations are not abashed to offer themselves as pilots to their sex. It is nothing that they do not inspire much confidence in the minds of their more conservative and successful sisters. It is everything if they make an enormous noise; and that they do, and it is a serious factor in disturbance."

Is it possible that unfavorable criticism accounts for the omission of "A New Department for Women" from McClure's for May? Few men or women are strongly inclined to accept Miss Inez Millholland's statements in the previous installments of that Department, that "Motherhood" carries with it little in the way of mental preparation for the broader tasks of life," that "traditional" marriage is "underpaid work in man-controlled industry" and that "Despite conservative outcry there is reason to believe that the present swift growth of liberty for women means ultimately a new freedom for her in every department of life—above all, in the deepest of all relationships."

The Common Cause for March has an article by L. Lamprey—"The Studio

or the Home?" which is recommended to our readers if we number any discontented women among them. This ably refutes a magazine article by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in which she professes to believe that "The separate home is a kind of superstition" and states that the "Sanctity of the home does not exist."

The Woman's Protest for April, in referring to the "Higher Education of Women, as Independent of Suffrage," very pertinently says: "Higher education certainly implies a certain intellectual accomplishment, but alas! it implies nothing as regards common sense and good judgment. Still no one would wish to see the opportunity to higher education denied to women because it is a personal and private matter like any other vocation and interferes with no other individual's right. Voting is a different thing entirely, and there is such a principle as "consent of the governed" involved in it. Moreover, Anti-Suffragists do not see why they should be dragged to the polls merely to cancel the Suffrage vote, when the same result can be obtained by keeping the Suffragists away. A break in the ranks of women is certain. There is not the slightest evidence of any great or desirable change to come from voting that is not accomplished easily without it."

The Remonstrance for April, under the title "Facing Both Ways" draws attention to the attitude of Suffragists towards the temperance question, as follows: When Suffragists have experienced a defeat, as last year in Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, they always insist that it was the liquor interests



that defeated them. But when a Suffrage campaign is on, they are profuse in the promises and assurances which they make to these same interests. Witness the address which Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict made before the Manufacturers' and Dealers' Club of Milwaukee during the Wisconsin campaign, when she asked the assembled brewers: "Why all this hue and cry about Woman Suffrage injuring the brewing industry? Isn't it a little foolish?" Witness also the declaration of May Wright Sewall in the Milwaukee Free-Press of October 20, 1912: "Votes for women will no more prohibit drink than they will prohibit food."

#### The Risks of Indifference

The present position of the Woman Suffrage question in this country emphasises the need for the marshalling of the forces of opposition to the grant of the Parliamentary Vote to women. Owing to the fiasco of the Franchise Bill, the claim that the country must be consulted before any Suffrage measure can become law has received many adherents. But in proportion to the growing support given to this view, for which the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage stands, will the Suffragists increase their efforts to bring about this fatal modification of the Constitution over the heads of the electorate. They have benefited in the past from the natural antipathy that exists among many sections of the public to being brought into the whirlpool of this con-

troversy. Behind their insistent clamour they have sought to conceal from the eyes of the unheeding the fact that the great bulk of the nation is hostile or indifferent to Woman Suffrage. Further apathy will imperil the prestige of the Empire, as yet another chance is to be given to the Suffragists to push their cause through this parliament. It is not enough to wait for the next General Election to register a vote against the movement. Some action should be taken now; and support should be given to this league. The experience of practically all the countries that have adopted Woman Suffrage shows the danger of indifference towards the question. In Colorado, in 1893, only 62,000 voters out of 200,000 voted on the subject, and by a majority of 6,000 some 34,000 people committed the State to the system. One vote out of every six sufficed to introduce Woman Suffrage into the Statute books of Washington. Of the twelve million women in Great Britain whom it is proposed to enfranchise, how many have expressed a desire for the vote, and of the male electorate of eight millions how many want to give it to them? In the United States experience has shown that wherever Woman Suffrage has succeeded, it has been due to the indifference and not to the support of the electorate. Here in Great Britain, with Imperial responsibilities, similar indifference would constitute the gravest possible danger to the State and the Empire.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE REVIEW, London.



## Modern Thought

By CAROLINE F. CORBIN

THERE are three phases of modern thought, which however they may differ in other respects, all unite in their earnest advocacy of Woman Suffrage, namely, Progressivism, Socialism and the propaganda of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The modern Progressive party, through its public tactics, however it may urge on the side, certain tentative and wholly theoretical economic measures, makes this doctrine a leading one in its claim for public support. Socialism has put it forward as its first demand in every platform which it has issued for the last quarter of a century. The "Industrial Workers of the World" is a comparatively new party, ostensibly devoted to the interests of the working people and the equal rights of all, both men and women. It is in fact Socialism gone to seed; that is Socialism which has reached its last and reproductive stage, the stage wherein talk gives place to action. It is therefore as might be expected, more pronounced in theory than any of the old parties.

The Chicago Tribune of December 1st, 1912, has an editorial entitled "Emotional Unionism" describing the Industrial Worker whose companionship it is evidently a little ashamed of, in which he and the movement which he represents are set forth in the following terms.

"When a national organization, nation-wide in its scope, inscribes the word revolution upon its banner, its leaders, theories and literature become of public

interest, The Industrial Workers of the World is such an organization.

"The extent to which the activity of the I. W. W. is regulated by emotion, passion and prejudice, rather than by clear thinking is evinced by its literature. The entire literature of this movement which promises to right all the wrongs of humanity by means of revolution over night, consists of half a dozen pamphlets. Each of these represents the central idea that employers and employes have nothing in common, and the workers should aim to wrest all control of industry from the hands of its present possessors. All the I. W. W. leaders are swayed by emotion rather than reason. They are men of no education or have a smattering of education, which is worse than none at all. They are men who have sprung from the most desperate, the most hopeless strata of the working class. The program of the I. W. W. with its direct means of getting even with society, appeals to these men largely because it offers an opportunity to wreaking vengeance.

"There is another important feature about the I. W. W. agitators. The majority of them, in fact almost all of them—are men without family ties. They know of no responsibilities or obligations," which of course includes the repudiation of marriage and the home. "The majority of them are absolutely non-moral. This emotional unionism with its recklessness, open appeal to vengeance upon industry, upon their employer, is just the sort of unionism which the great masses of

unskilled workers who have real grievances against present industrial conditions, understand most easily. The I. W. W. by devoting itself entirely to these unskilled and exploited masses, bids fair therefore to become the vortex of industrial turmoil in this country."

Thus far the Tribune. The question that we now desire to ask is, Why is it that these three classes, the Progressivists, the Socialists and the I. W. W.'s all base their proposed Social reform upon Woman Suffrage, or to use the most euphemistic language at hand, "equal work, equal pay and equal political privileges for both sexes."

And first let us notice that there are three classes and what they stand for. Progressivism in general regards marriage and the institution of the Home as a mere social incident, founded upon any present whim or desire. It thus opens a wider door for divorce, and attaches little approbrium to the breaking of the relations between the sexes, whatever may be the consequences to such children as may have been born of the sexual relation. It encourages the labor of woman in fields hitherto regarded as the express heritage of men, as mill work, factory work, commercial enterprises and the like, to the robbery of female employments, which call for womanly traits; and instead of curbing these growing inclinations of the day, and encouraging womanly virtues, it scoffs at the home and lures girls more and more into the life of cafes, restaurants, hotels, places which all tend to bring about equality between men and women and the adoption of masculine habits, even in such personal matters as smoking, drinking and the like.

Socialism is quite as publicly advocated, makes even a more scornful jest of marriage and the home and has been for more than fifty years, corrupting the American mind on the matter of those well-known virtues of patience, honesty and upright rule, upon which our government was founded.

The I. W. W. has attracted attention within the past few years, and largely by the importation of such foreign words and ideas as "sabotage," which may be understood as the wooden shoe of the peasant kicking down the institutions reared by intelligence and spiritual aspiration to strengthen and solace the soul of man, or "syndicalism" which we of an earlier time knew by the more easily understood term of governmental communism, making its way to the front of the "advanced" system of modern thought, a growing multitude forging itself into a mass of immoral citizens ready to substitute a bullet for the ballot; and here let us say, that while a person without intelligence may innocently be unintelligent, a person who is "non-moral" must necessarily be immoral, because to be without morals is necessarily an immoral quality.

These advocates of modern thought range in their sphere of action from the highest to the lowest human beings, but each and every class of them founds itself from the beginning to the end upon the one doctrine of Woman Suffrage. And why? For two reasons. In the first place that all human beings, men and women as well, may be equal upon the material plane, equal as workmen, equal in opportunities, equal in political privileges. It is an egregious folly and mistake, born of ignorance and low



ideals, to imagine that political privileges are withheld from woman because she is not capable of exercising them, however unsuitable they may be to her physiological make-up. They belong to man together with his physical and intellectual strength, because in no other way can he be the equal of that bright and spiritually minded creature whom God made in the beginning to be his help meet and equal,—the mother of the race.

For a second reason, this reversal of Woman's place in Nature, this placing her upon a forced and unnatural equality with man, promises to the unthinking multitude a solution of certain economic difficulties, of which a true observation and reason shows at once the folly and the absurdity. The quieter and more thoughtful of the race see in the elevation of the child through a truer education and mothering, the rising up of a new contingent of both men and

women, to whom a better sense of the real objects of Nature from the first, shall come the work of constantly elevating and purifying the unselfishness of the race, and giving to the world a new sense of the honor and the glory of the spiritual as above the material side of life. And this is a work to be done by woman and woman only. She may, indeed must, have the cordial and unselfish co-operation of the father of the race but he alone can never accomplish without her intuition and direction, the work which it is given her by Heaven to do, and which increases in amount and value with each generation and to which the attention of the philanthropist is called in this age as never before. It is a work which joins the two sections of the race in a tender and elevating co-operation and gives a new meaning to the old prophecy, "And a little child shall lead them."

CAROLINE F. CORBIN

## Real Motives of English Suffragists

THE following letter which was addressed to the President of the Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage is printed with her permission. It is especially recommended to the thinking men and women of America, who cannot fail to see in the utterances of Suffrage leaders in this country a dangerous alliance with Socialism and all that it stands for.

22 Cushing St., Providence, Feb. 15  
My Dear Madam:—

Do you think that the real motives of the leaders of the Woman's Suffrage movement in England are known and

understood by our American women? I am quite sure they are not, for if the truth were known, the ranks of the anti-suffrage leaders in this country would be crowded. And that truth is, that the leaders of the English movement are not merely working for a political privilege, but have other ends in view of a much more doubtful character. They start upon the assumption that men and women are equal in nature, a proposition upon which a man of science might have something to say. From that basis they proceed to argue that women are held in artificial subjection, in a sort of economic and sexual slavery, from which

women must be freed by the use of the vote. The enemy to be fought is man, and with man are associated the two gaolers of the weaker sex, Marriage and Capital. Both are hideous institutions which are used to fix the economic and sexual fetters upon woman. Capital exploits her by forcing her to accept low wages; Marriage, by coaxing her into a state of bondage. Thus, the suffrage movement, upon its "militant" side is not merely a movement for votes but a movement against society. It allies itself with Socialism and Anarchy.

At the time I was in London last summer, the "Suffragettes" made a demonstration in Hyde Park to celebrate Mrs. Pankhurst's birthday, under the auspices of the Women's Social and Political Union; the symbol under which the meeting was held—to quote from the official programme—was a "big red cap of liberty," and the band music descended by easy stages from "Rule, Britannia" to the "Women's Marseillaise." It was the 14th of July, and they were in fact celebrating the French Revolution, or the Fall of the Bastille, as well as their leader's birthday. That the birthday happened to be the 14th of July seemed to me to be an ominous coincidence.

The battle, then, is against society, and naturally there is a tendency to alliance with the Socialist Party who also are against established institutions. There is a Socialist feminist organ called the "Freewoman" which preaches the new doctrine with a great deal of vigor and frankness, and whose argument is that marriage is "on the moral level of Antonio's contract to barter his own flesh," an "immoral" contract based on

"immoral considerations." In brief, the new woman is urging that the short cut to universal happiness is to abolish marriage and family life and substitute State-aided free love.

The real nature of the Suffrage movement in England is becoming revealed. What was a perfectly justifiable attempt (originally) to further the cause of Woman Suffrage has become a violent agitation against all law and order, and a direct defiance of all authority, human and Divine.

As to the "celebration" to which I have referred, it was certainly the most appropriate anniversary for the Suffragettes to have chosen, for as surely as the token of the Bastille led to those scenes of unbridled license and hideous orgy which marked the triumph of the Goddess of Reason, so will the Suffrage movement if successful lead in England at least, to the overthrow of every principle of decency, reverence, and purity which should distinguish a civilized nation.

I would not care to prophecy the result of the success of the agitation for suffrage in our own country, because I have never studied the movement as I did in London. Some kinds of women are pretty much the same all over the world. And, without the slightest desire to be severe or uncharitable, I cannot imagine that the women who are tramping through the mud and snow to Washington are very much more civilized than the women who smash windows in Regent street and throw acid into the post-boxes, just because they can't have their own way.

WILLIAM F. B. JACKSON

## Anti-Suffrage Organizations

### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized in November, 1912, with the purpose of inspiring women to organize associations in every state. There were, at that time, seven state associations. The following list shows the rapid growth of the National opposition to Woman Suffrage. The National Associations, with offices at 35 West 39 Street, New York, is composed of the following officers, and Board of Directors. The organ of the National Association is the "Woman's Protest," a monthly paper of unusual interest, which gives a full account of the Anti-Suffrage work, showing the rapid growth of this movement all over the country.

#### OFFICERS

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, New York.  
Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Henry P. Kidder, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. John B. Herron, Pittsburg, Pa.; Miss Anne MacIlvaine, Trenton, N. J.  
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### PENNSYLVANIA

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President, Mrs. Horace Brock.  
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Brinton Cox, 1515 Spruce St., Philadelphia.

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Secretary, Miss C. L. Harrold, 2101 N. St.

**WISCONSIN**

President, Mrs. Frank W. Hoyt.  
Corresponding Secretary, Miss Genevieve Mills,  
222 Monona Avenue, Madison.

**CONNECTICUT ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE**

The Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized November, 1911, seventeen months ago, with a membership of twenty-two. In these seventeen months the association has grown with great rapidity, clearly demonstrating the fact that when they realize the need, the Anti-Suffragists are wishing to meet the situation, and by organized opposition to impress the electorate that the majority of the women do not want the ballot. There are sixteen well organized branches in the state, beside the city of Hartford. There are over 9,000 women enrolled as opposing Woman Suffrage and these women are all over twenty-one years of age. The policy of this organization is a quiet one. The enrolling of names and the distributing of literature are the methods by which the work is done. To bring to the attention of the women in the state reasons why we oppose Woman Suffrage and also to show them the power of woman as a non-partisan.

The women in the association are allied with every organization for the betterment of conditions for women and children, but as an association, we adhere closely to the reason of our existence.

**MRS. DANIEL A. MARKHAM,**

President of the Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

President, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, 22 Sumner Street.

Vice-Presidents, Miss Elizabeth R. Burnell, 35 Willard Street; Mrs. J. G. Calhoun, 201 Farmington Avenue; Mrs. W. B. Williams, 888 Asylum Avenue.

Secretary, Mrs. W. S. Schulz, 242 No. Beacon Street.

Treasurer, Mrs. Albert S. Cook, 44 Sycamore Road.

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Mrs. W. P. Conklin, Miss Hannah Bailey,  
Mrs. E. W. Hopkins.

**NEW CANAAN BRANCH**

The New Canaan Branch of the Connecticut Association was the first to be organized in the state. It began its campaign in the Town Hall, on November 10, 1911. This meeting, which was open to men, as well as women, was addressed by Mrs. John Martin and Miss Alice Chittenden. It aroused much interest and has been followed by many parlor meetings, which have resulted in a membership of over three hundred women, over 21 years of age. Many men also have joined this branch.

The officers and organizing committee are as follows:

**OFFICERS OF NEW CANAAN BRANCH**

Chairman, Miss Olive Reamy.

Vice-Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers.

Secretary, Miss Harman-Brown, Box 77, New Canaan, Conn.

Treasurer, Mrs. Henry B. Rogers, North Main Street, New Canaan, Conn.

**ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE**

Miss Harman-Brown, Mrs. F. A. DeMeuron, Mrs. Irving Lockwood, Mrs. Willard Parker, Mrs. John Rogers, Mrs. Henry B. Rogers, Miss Olive Reamy, Mrs. Herbert Warren.

**REPORT OF THE NEW HAVEN BRANCH**

The New Haven Branch was organized last April. Beginning with but few members it now numbers nearly six hundred. Several large meetings have been held which have been addressed by eminent speakers. Among them Miss Alice H. Chittenden, Professor George Trumbull Ladd, Dean Charles Reynolds Brown of the Yale Divinity School and Mrs. A. J. George of Massachusetts.

The members of the association consist of business women, wage earners and many women prominent in the civic and philanthropic affairs of the city. Among the organizing members are the following well known names:

Mrs. William Beebe, Mrs. Winchester Bennett, Mrs. Albert Stanborough Cook, Mrs. Clarence Deming, Mrs. Franklin B. Dexter, Mrs. John C. English, Mrs. Lewis H. English, Mrs. Henry W. Farnam, Mrs. Ellsworth I. Foote, Mrs. J. George T. Ladd, Mrs. J. Mason Hoppin, Mrs. William A. Rice, Mrs. Henry B. Sargent, Miss M. deF. Skinner, Mrs. Raynham Townshend, Mrs. Williston Walker, Mrs. Eli Whitney, Mrs. Frank H. Whittemore, Mrs. Edward Washburn Hopkins, chairman.

**FAIRFIELD BRANCH**

The Fairfield Branch has done active service in opposition to Woman Suffrage. It reported on April 2nd a membership of over 800 men and women, of this over 600 were women over twenty-one. Mrs. Glover, secretary, reported that